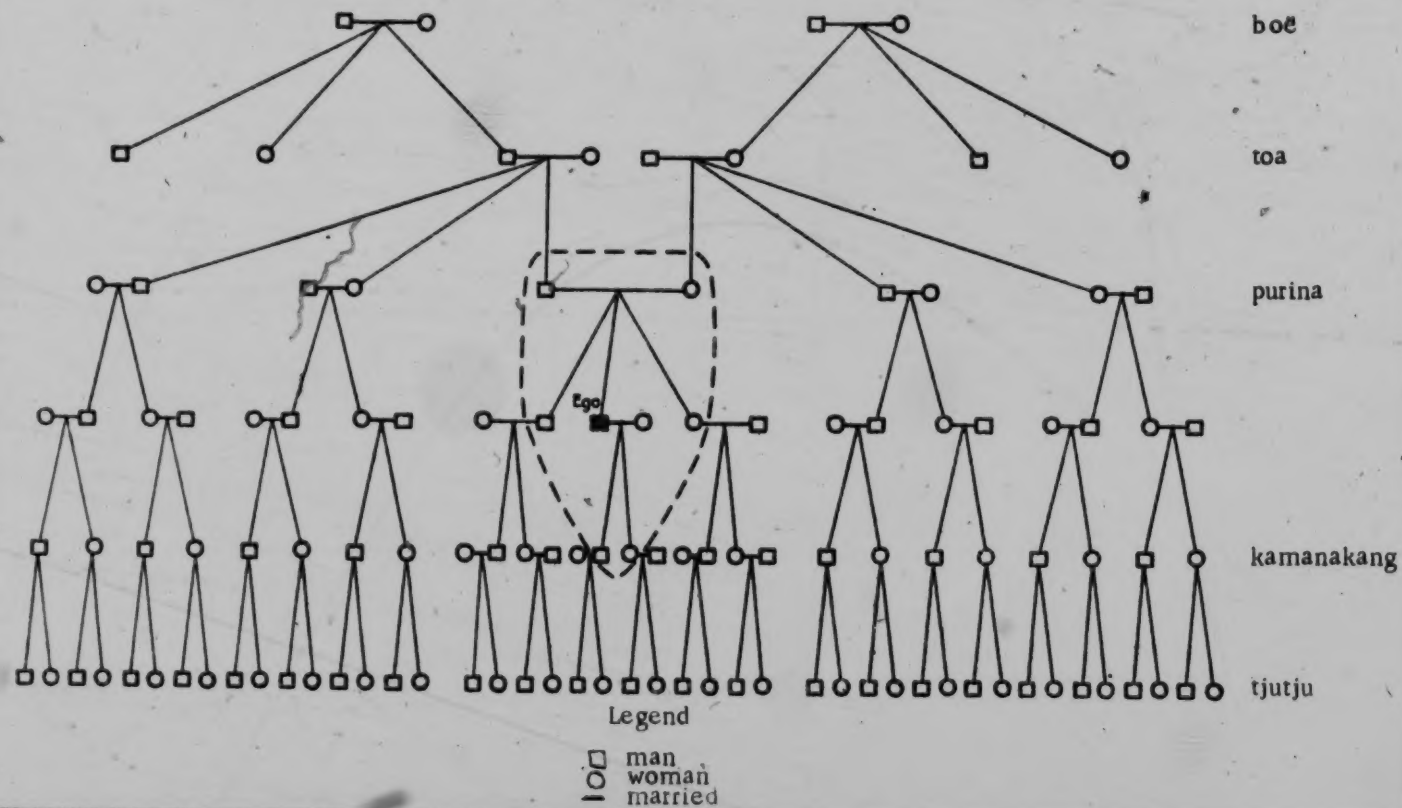


Kinship Terminology



582 /23 cont./ case. Upon analysis of these connections, there appears a clear preference for marriages with members of the same generation, and among these the most important place is occupied respectively by those between sampopinruang (sixth-degree male and female cousins) and by those between sampopintallung (eighth-degree male and female cousins).

Expressed in figures, this means that of the 69 ordinary, or festive, marriages (1) contracted between members of the

1. The total number of 89 must be reduced not only by 10 non-endogamous but also by 10 silariang marriages. A marriage is brought about either in a festive way or by way of silariang. In this latter case there is no question of a reasoned-out choice.

related group, in 60 cases the marriage partners were members of the same generation, and in 9 cases they were not. Of these 60 marriages, 8 were contracted between samposikali (children of brothers or/and sisters; thus male and female cousins in the fourth degree), 30 between sampopinruang (children of samposikali, thus sixth-degree male and female cousins), and 22 between sampopintallung (children of sampopinruang, thus eighth-degree male and female cousins).

In the 9 marriages contracted between kinsmen of a different generation, the age difference of the spouses, with one exception, was no greater than that between members of the same generation. In the case of these marriages, a certain preference is to be noted for the marriage of a man to a woman of a lower /24/ generation over that of a man to a woman of a higher generation.

Marriages between children of brothers, between children of sisters, or between children of a brother and sister, are

- 538 /27 cont./ related that I Maipa was the daughter of the Sultan of Sumbawa. As such, however, she was of nobler blood than Datu Museng, and their marriage was thus likewise a forbidden tie. Matthes, Makassaarsche Chrestomathie /Makassarese Chrestomathy/, 1883: "Aanteekeningen," p. 88.

singers (pakeso'keso') (3).

- [533
534] 3. A singer who accompanies himself on a two-stringed violin (keso'keso').

593 In daily life the brother is, in the very first instance, the protector of his sister as a young girl. He is for her the "strong wall," as the verse says (4). He likes to accompany

4. See Chapter III, p. 297.

her and the older women when they pay visits to kinsmen living elsewhere. He is the one who reacts first in case she is siri'; this is as much as to say that he immediately starts the pursuit and stabs if she should want to flee. He carries her as a bride out of the back rooms where she was dressed to the bridal bed in the front room. He is proud of her and of the fact that he may protect her.

- 601 [585] The /nuclear/ family is clearly reflected in the kinship terminology (see list). It is apparent that only the members of the /nuclear/ family are indicated by individual terms and that for the rest the terminology makes distinctions only between generations. The distinctions made in ego's own generation,

- 601 /27 cont./ finally, indicate the distance from the common grandparent, which appears to be of the greatest significance for marriage possibilities.

Kinship Terms

[609] Kin relationship is designated by the term sibidja /28/ or sipamanakkang. People who are not related to each other call each other tau maraeng (literally: "other people").

From the point of view of ego (man or woman), there is (are) named his:

1. father: mangge, bapa
2. mother: anrong, amma
3. brother: sari'battang (bura'ne)
4. sister: sari'battang (baine)
5. brothers and sisters of 1 and 2: purina
6. children of 5: samposikali
7. fathers and mothers of 1 and 2: toa
8. brothers and sisters of 7: toa
9. children of 8: purina
10. children of 9: sampopinruang
11. fathers and mothers of 7: boë
12. brothers and sisters of 11: boë
13. children of 12: toa
14. children of 13: purina
15. children of 14: sampopintallung
16. son: ana' (bura'ne)
17. daughter: ana' (baine)
18. children of 16 and 17: tjutju
19. children of 3 and 4: kamanakang
20. children of 19: tjutju
21. children of 6: kamanakang
22. children of 21: tjutju
23. children of 10: kamanakang
24. children of 23: tjutju
25. children of 15: kamanakang

● 601 /28 cont./ 26. children of 25: tjutju

27. children of 18-20-22-24-26: tjutju kulantu'

To indicate a man, bura'ne is placed after the terms named, to indicate a woman, baine.

28. Persons who are married to two brothers (or to two sisters) call each other lago.

29. One calls one's sister's (brother's) spouse ipara'.

30. In case a man and a woman not related to each other marry, a cousin of the man nonetheless regards himself as related /29/ (for instance) as a cousin to the woman. They then are bidja pasibesokang, literally, "drawn relatives" of each other. Except in the terms for father and mother, the difference in sex is not directly indicated. For when someone speaks of his purina, for instance, it is immediately clear whether he is talking about his uncle or his aunt by the manner and moment in which he does so.

Great stress is placed upon the difference between generations. With the exception of one's own parents, all those who belong to one generation above ego are called purina. Only if more specific designation should be necessary in a certain case is purina samposikali or purina sampopinruang used.

In the generation of ego's grandparents, the difference between his own grandparents and their contemporaries, their brothers, sisters, male and female cousins, and so forth, also has disappeared. All are designated by toa. This applies equally to the generation of the great-grandparents.

Exactly the same thing can be observed with respect to the lower generations: in the generation below ego, his own children are called ana', the rest kamanakang. In the generation of ego's grandchildren, all are called tjutju without exception.

As regards ego's own generation, it is a striking phenomenon that the differences in terminology are connected with the difference in distance that separates them from the common pair of ancestors. Thus, ego's own contemporaries are samposikali to each other; their children are sampopinruang to each other.

582/205 cont. / widower, where the widow and widower had re-married and lived together in one house with the children from their respective first marriages, was not carried out in the city of Macassar until the Kali of Macassar declared that no Moslem legal objections existed against this marriage. In Goa, after some hesitation, such a marriage was not sealed. The chance for an unfavorable outcome was regarded as too great.

[584] Where two young people living in the same house have a chance of being married, as happens once in a while in the populous houses of headmen, one of them is sent elsewhere beforehand and is made to marry from there.

[601 593] A marriage between relatives who do not belong to the same generation is regarded as unfavorable. Husband and wife are regarded as belonging to the same generation. If, genealogically viewed, they belong to a different generation, there arises in the beginning of the marriage an uncertainty with respect to social forms and terms of address, which after a while disappears as forms and terms are adapted to the new relationship. Where man and wife stated that they were members of the same generation, whereas later it appeared that a difference of generations existed between them, it was found unpleasant to be reminded of this irregularity in kinship relations. The conflict which had already become buried revived, as it were, by such an observation.

Where a difference in generations between man and wife is observable, in almost all cases the man belongs to the older generation.

[565] The marriage of a man to a cousin of the fourth degree (samposikali) or to a cousin of the tenth degree is regarded by many as an "ordinary" marriage, but a few regard it as unfavorable. In /206/ the karaeng group of relatives, marriages between relatives of the fourth degree occur with greater frequency than in Borongloë. In these circles greater

M conservative PNI [Partai Nasional Indonesia, i.e., Indonesian
 605 National Party--Analyst] would get some support, but the
 521 more radical ones would not. He said that so far there was
 no political life here and so there is practically no friction
 between liberals and conservatives. Such divisions are
 simply not defined and everyone keeps still. If there is a
 person who returns from abroad, he knows that he must keep
 still, and that if he tells anything, it must be done in privacy
 and only to friends.

M
 871 As for education, there appears to have been little change
 178 during the last fifty years, and I believe their statements re-
 garding this.

M
 582 There are said to be no rules regarding exogamy or
 771 endogamy, but formerly as now most marriages are within
 178 the kampong. The only rule is that which makes the Moham-
 medan marriage rite necessary. Of course there is very
 little, if any, marriage with non-Mohammedans, unless they
 are first converted. Andi did feel that perhaps there was
 more out-marriage than there was before, and in fact he said
 that it was very seldom the case previously. This seems to
 be largely a matter of distance, and the nearer kampongs are
 the source of greater inter-marriage than those which are
 further away. There is much less, indeed very little, mar-
 riage outside of the district, and very seldom indeed outside
 of Bone. There is much discussion about the size and number
 of members in various families in the kampong. Some
 families are so large that they spread widely and relatives
 can be found all over. The nobles especially know hundreds
 of their relatives and their genealogies are kept on lontar
 palm leaves. For example, this is true in Andi's case. The
 lower the class the less the spread of the known family and
 relatives. But even slaves have a knowledge of their rela-
 tives to distant degrees. Andi said that cousins to the third
 degree were well known and that there are many large

M
 602 families. Beyond that point knowledge decreases, but the
 171 Kepala kampong, for example, said that he knew perhaps two
 hundred relatives. Thus we see a combination of large fami-
 lies and a desire to keep in contact with one's relatives. This
 is perhaps the urge toward genealogy which is found all over
 Oceania. Marriage outside the tribe is rare. There are not
 many, if any, marriages with Makassarrese here; but if there
 were it would be acceptable as they are also Mohammedan.
 M
 582 As for the Toradja in Tolangi (and the Kepala kampong said
 563 there are other encysted kampongs of them all over), they
 771